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A COMPLEAT REFUTATION OF THE STATEMENTS OF LORD MOIRA RESPECTING IRELAND;

BEING

THE ENTIRE SPEECH OF THE EARL OF CLARE,

LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND,

IN THE

HOUSE OF PEERS

OF THAT KINGDOM,

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1798,

ON

LORD MOIRA's MOTION,

"That an humble Addreſs be preſented to His Excellency "the Lord Lieutenant, recommending the adoption of "ſuch conciliatory Meaſures as may allay the Apprehenſi- "ons, and extinguiſh the Diſcontents in that Country."

LONDON:

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1798.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

SPEECH, &c.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR requeſted the attention of the Noble Lord, (Lord MOIRA) to the Reports of the Secret Committee of that Houſe, as from the ſpeech which he had juſt heard delivered, it would ſeem that he had been an utter ſtranger to the proceedings of their Lordſhips.

The Clerk at the Table then proceeded to read the Report of the Secret Committee in 1793 and 1797, ſtating at great length the progreſs of Inſurrection in the North, the numbers of the Conſpirators, their plan of organization, their connection with the French Directory, and a unity of proofs of as inſidious a Conſpiracy as ever threatened the exiſtence of a Government, or the peace of a Nation, atteſted by authorities not to be brought in queſtion.

The CHANCELLOR then ſaid, that the Noble Lord had made two Motions in the Britiſh Houſe of Lords, to prevail upon that auguſt Aſſembly to Petition His Majeſty to interpoſe his paternal authority in healing the diſcontents of his Iriſh People, or ſomething to that effect; his Lordſhip had aſſigned one cauſe then, and the ſame which he had ſtated on this night, for this exertion of the Royal ſolicitude; another was, that a Member of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, uninvited, and without any authority, had ſtarted up, and pronounced an interdiction upon the hopes of the Catholics

for

for ever; another was, that another Member of another Houſe had, equally indiſcreetly and unadviſedly, pronounced a ſweeping condemnation of the North of Ireland. What had paſſed in the Houſe of Commons it was not for him to account for, but of this he was certain, that not a word had tranſpired in that Aſſembly to warrant a ſhade of ſuch imputation upon any one of its Members.

The Noble Lord did again introduce the ſame ſubject, and with it a ſweeping condemnation of every department of the Iriſh State, civil and military. But when the Government was thus charged by him with cruelty and oppreſſion, was it not evident that nothing ſhort of the moſt vigorous and unabating exertion could have preſerved it from total ſubverſion? He would therefore appeal to the Noble Lord, as a liberal Gentleman, and a gallant Soldier, why, at ſo critical a ſeaſon, he choſe to paſs by the Aſſembly in which he now ſpoke, and introduce the ſubject in a Britiſh Houſe of Parliament? He would put it to the good ſenſe of the Noble Lord, on what principle of the Conſtitution he could think himſelf juſtifiable in calling upon the Britiſh Houſe of Lords, to petition His Majeſty to interpoſe his paternal authority in a matter ſolely cognizable by the Parliament of Ireland? He would put the queſtion with the more force, becauſe it was one of the deepeſt importance to the Iriſh Conſtitution. If his Lordſhip had not been miſrepreſented, he would alſo aſk why the aſſertion had been made, that a Member of that Houſe had raſhly and unadviſedby pronounced a ſweeping interdiction againſt the North? Why the charge had been made, that the feudal oppreſſion of Norman ſlavery, the Curfew, had been eſtabliſhed in Ireland? Why it had been charged that a Court of Inquiſition had been introduced here? Why it had been ſaid that the torture had been reſorted to, becauſe the rack was not at hand, in order to extort confeſſions

ſeſſions of guilt from the priſoner againſt himſelf or his friends? Why it had been aſſerted, that men had been dragged from their families, ignorant of their crimes and their accuſers, and puniſhed without having been confronted? If he was rightly informed, the Noble Lord had regretted that he could not be examined in the moſt ſolemn manner as to the facts, and thus the Seditious Prints had been enabled to hold out this diſtorted and virulent miſrepreſentation to the people of both countries, on the authority of his Lordſhip's Oath.

It had been too long the practice of Parties in Great Britain, to drown the ſenſe of the People of this Country in violent clamour and confidence of expreſſion. It had been the policy ſince the ſeparation of America, to make Ireland a ſubject of embarraſſment to the Britiſh Cabinet. It had been the general ſyſtem ſince the Adminiſtration of Lord North. This was the theatre to the management of which they lent their countenance, and in which every motley faction which has raiſed its head has experienced their ſupport.—It was remarkable, that the Noble Lord had diſtinctly diſavowed any charge againſt the Army of Ireland, but contended, that all the blame attached to the Britiſh Cabinet. He had ſaid, that if there was treaſon in the kingdom, it was to be traced to the Britiſh Cabinet. He had heard the ſame language from him in another place, and that conciliation was the only remedy to be adopted for reſtoring tranquillity. What ſecurity could the Noble Lord offer, that conceſſion and conciliation would enſure tranquillity? Was it the paſt from which he would judge?—No—that was againſt ſuch a concluſion, for if conciliation would allay popular diſcontent, in no country of the habitable world had it been tried to a greater degree than in Ireland. He was confident in that expreſſion, and he would aſſert, that ſince the year 1779, the conduct of the Legiſlature had been one unvaried line of beneficence to the People—and that ſince that period,

period, our credit and commerce, our agriculture and manufactures, increaſed, and were increaſing without example in the hiſtory of any nation, until retarded by the machinations of the Seditious —The Noble Lord was at that time in America, employed in an honourable and brilliant diſcharge of his duty. He might have heard of a reſolution to grant certain advantages of a commercial nature to Ireland; they were, however, oppoſed by the Gentlemen who now led the Oppoſition to Mr. Pitt, and who then left the Oppoſition to Lord North; they were, however, conceded. Meaſures were then brought forward to declare the Independence of the Legiſlature of this Kingdom. Many Gentlemen, in a time of War, and when the Empire was in convulſion, heſitated to make a Parliamentary Declaration on the ſubject, leſt they ſhould increaſe the general embarraſſment—on which they were accuſed as the enemies of Ireland, and the Britiſh Cabinet accuſed as a tyrant, and the author of our grievances. In this ſtate of things, the Miniſtry was changed, and the Duke of Portland, being Lord Lieutenant, took, as he thought, the beſt method for reſtoring harmony—he recommended to Parliament, having heard that they had grievances to complain of, to inform His Majeſty what theſe grievances were, in order that a final end might be put to all differences between the two countries. One would ſuppoſe, that when the meaſure of redreſs for grievances had been given by Oppoſition itſelf, there would be no more complaints.—The Noblemen and Gentlemen determined, that the uſurped power of the Britiſh Parliament to make laws to bind Ireland—the ſuppreſſion of bills by the Britiſh Privy Council, or their alteration any where, and a perpetual Mutiny Bill, were the grievances that they had to complain of, and there they reſted the caſe of the nation. In the progreſs of the ſeſſion, a meſſage came down to the Houſe, that the Britiſh cabinet had paid attention to their claims,

and

and that his Majeſty would be ready to give his aſſent to any act that the Britiſh Parliament might paſs on the ſubject. What was the conſequence? The Houſe united in the warmeſt terms to expreſs their ſenſe of the magnanimity of England, who, without compact or condition, had acted ſo honourably and advantageouſly by the Iriſh nation—and pledged themſelves and the nation moſt unequivocally to abide by that ſettlement. The Commons in their zeal voted the enormous ſum of 50,000l. to the gentleman who had thus taken away the ground of all political differences. The applauſe of the nation was loud, and for a fortnight or three weeks the gentleman was the idol of the people, until another gentleman diſcovered, that there was not a renunciation of the power exerciſed by Great Britain, from which he argued, that the public had got no more than a bubble, and that the Iriſh Parliament had been the dupe of the Britiſh Cabinet, or accomplices with Great Britain againſt the independence of Ireland. This accuſation obtained aſſent, and the gentleman who was ſo lately the idol of the people was moſt ſcurrilouſly and generally abuſed, becauſe, on abſtract reaſoning, he had not provided the beſt ſecurity for the nation. It was not his intention to go into that queſtion; he ſhould only ſay that 999 out of a 1000 did not underſtand the difference between renunciation and ſimple repeal, of thoſe who talked of them; and that had a new reformer ſtated that there muſt be an exiſting principle to afford foundation for a renunciation, they would have been as clamorous againſt a renunciation as they had been againſt ſimple repeal. He made this obſervation, to ſhew the folly of appeals to the Majeſty of the People on abſtract and ſpeculative principles. We had at that time voted away all our regiments for the American ſervice, before the bubble of a ſimple repeal had been diſcovered. The Duke of Portland thought it neceſſary to raiſe four provincial regiments, which were to be diſ-

banded

banded at the termination of the war, without the expence of half pay, and this attention to public ſecurity made that nobleman as unpopular as the gentleman who had moved the ſimple repeal; it was repreſented to be a trick to get rid of the old volunteers, though a meaſure of neceſſity and œconomy. Lord Mansfield afterwards, and the other Judges of the King's Bench, gave a judgment in a cauſe which had been brought into their court before the ſimple repeal act paſſed, and which being before them they were forced to diſpoſe of, on which the people again took fire, and the circumſtance was alledged as another proof of Britiſh inſincerity.—Lord Buckingham was then Lord Lieutenant;—he had not then the honour of holding office, but from an early period of his life his intimacy with that nobleman was cloſe, and he generally had converſation with him on the meaſures of his government. Great Britain, ſince 1782, had been anxious to remove every cauſe of jealouſy and ſuſpicion; and although the private opinion of Lord Buckingham was, that the beſt ſecurity of Ireland was in the honour and integrity of the Britiſh legiſlature—yet, as jealouſies had ariſen on the ſubject, and as it was found that there were certain other offences againſt part of the trade laws, which, though committed in Ireland, were cognizable in the courts of Weſtminſter; and as it was doubted whether the new repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. would prevent the courts from receiving ſuch cauſes; he recommended a total renunciation, which was moved by his brother (now a peer) in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons. This might, he thought, were conceſſion to be relied upon, prove ſufficient to ſatisfy—but the people immediately diſcovered, that the very Parliament which had given them the new conſtitution was in itſelf a grievance. A military convention was therefore held, not very diſtant from the Parliament-Houſe. It proceeded accordingly to exerciſe all the forms and functions of a legiſlative

aſſembly

aſſembly. It elected a ſpeaker and a chairman of its committees:—its bill was ordered to be read a firſt and ſecond time, committed, reported, and ordered to be engroſſed, and then ſent down to the Houſe of Commons by two of their members, there to be regiſtered by that aſſembly.

For one year or two the country was allowed reſt. It was diſcovered that the Britiſh manufacturers obtained a preference, and the cry was for a war of prohibitory duties with England, although the balance of trade was between 4 and 500,000l. annually in our favour, which the ſagacious Reformiſts would ſubmit to the loſs of, and at a moment when there was not wool enough in the country to clothe one half of the inhabitants.

In tracing the progreſs of diſcontent his Lordſhip came next to the memorable æra of the commercial propoſitions. Great Britain then offered to Ireland the privilege of trading to all her colonies—to give us not only the advantage of her commerce, but the uſe of her capital, on the condition only of being bound by ſuch laws as bound her own ſubjects, ſo long as we ſhould think proper to exerciſe the right thus conferred. It was repreſented as a new attempt to ſap the independence of the Iriſh legiſlature, and rejected without examination, through as ſilly a deluſion as ever was practiſed on a people gifted with common ſenſe—a ſhort repoſe ſucceeded, and he appealed to every nobleman who heard him, if Ireland, during that period, had not proſpered in all the channels of national wealth beyond the moſt ſanguine expectation of her friends. In 1789 the moſt critical queſtion between the countries aroſe. He would not enter into that affair—but the Parliament of Ireland had thought proper not only to diſregard the proceedings of the Parliament of England, but to proceed in direct hoſtility to them. The conduct of the Parliament at that day, he was afraid, had

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ſhaken the connection of the kingdom in its conſequences. Lord Buckingham did as much as man could to heal the wound. He forgave his own injuries—he ſacrificed his own reſentments—through neceſſity he had been obliged to diſmiſs ſome of the old ſervants of the crown. But in this he was abundantly juſtified, for they not only refuſed to ſupport his government, but in a ſtrain of ſullen reſerve, declared againſt having intercourſe with his perſon. Then came the firſt blow which was ſtruck againſt Parliament out of doors. The inſtitution of a ſociety which accuſed the Britiſh miniſtry of a ſettled plan to undermine the liberties of Ireland. This ſociety, however, pledged themſelves to ſupport with their lives and fortunes, the conſtitution, as eſtabliſhed in Great Britain in 1688 and reaſſerted in Ireland in 1782—and they confined their grievances to a place bill, a penſion bill, or reſponſibility bill, and to the places created by Lord Buckingham.—In their debates on theſe meaſures in Parliament, both parties dealt out the moſt ſevere invective againſt each other, and ſtopped at nothing to blacken their reſpective characters.

Seeing this picture of deformity drawn by their own pencil, the public gave them credit for their mutual criminations, and they no longer truſted in an aſſembly, which ſo continually accuſed each other for faction and corruption. The conſpiracy of the United Iriſhmen thus began to form themſelves and laid a beginning for their enormities, which have of late become ſo common and ſo violent as nearly to bring us back to the period of 1641. The ſyſtem of this conſpiracy was not ſo much againſt this or that Miniſter, this or that meaſure, but it was to repreſent the connexion of Great Britain as the depreſſion of Ireland. They planned an union of all religious deſcriptions, not to oppoſe Mr. Pitt, not to oppoſe Mr. Fox, if he ſhould be Miniſter, not to oppoſe Lord Landſdown, if he obtained the adminiſtration

miniſtration, not to oppoſe the Noble Lord, if he ſhould take a leading part in the Government, but to entirely extirpate all Britiſh influence, and to deſtroy all Britiſh connection. A confidential diſpatch of one of the origination of this ſociety has been long ago ſeized and identified—a diſpatch of Mr. Tone, a fugitive for treaſon, but now reſident at Paris, negociating for Iriſh rebels, a man who is ſaid to have been an adjutant-general in Hoche's expedition, and to have had a command when the invaſion was planned from Holland.—This Tone ſtated, that the chief object of the Iriſh nation was a ſeparation from Great Britain, and that parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation were to be the watch-words for obtaining it, and that the progreſs of the French revolution muſt enſure ſucceſs.

He had often preſſed Government to cruſh the ſnake before it had come to its growth. This peſtilential ſpirit however continued to ſpread. It might be recollected that an attempt had been made in the Metropolis to eſtabliſh a National Guard—their Uniform French, and their Enſigns, Enſigns of Sedition, in order to be ready to aſſiſt the French. So early as that period 1791, the ſyſtem was to corrupt the Army, and great pains were taken to ſeduce the Soldiery. There was the evidence of a Gentleman, now a Colonel in his Majeſty's ſervice, and at that time an officer, to the fact, ſo that it did not reſt upon the teſtimony of Newel and Smith, as had been inſinuated by the Noble Lord. He had been examined on oath at the Bar of that Houſe, and had depoſed, that early in the year 1792, it had been propoſed to him to accept a Commiſſion in the Revolutionary Army of Ireland. The Agent aſſured him that they did not want for men, but that they wiſhed to obtain Officers of merit. In the progreſs of this peſtilential Conſpiracy, a principal object was, to detach the Catholic lower orders from the Catholic Nobility—and in this he was ſorry to ſay, that

they

they had been too far ſucceſsful. Lord Kenmare and other Gentlemen were expoſed to the groſſeſt calumny. Jacobiniſm had forced itſelf into their place, and the Catholics were thenceforth placed under a Committee, ſome of whom he ſolemnly believed, were now a part of the Iriſh Directory, and in correſpondence with their Brethren the French Directory. They wanted arms, and they ſet the lower Catholics upon the Proteſtants to rob them of their arms, as had been reluctantly acknowledged by a perſon from Dundalk, who, in his examination, admitted to have had correſpondence with the Catholic Committee. He begged that the Noble Lord would be pleaſed to recollect, that all this was previous to the paſſing of a ſingle Law to meet the evil, and of thoſe meaſures which had been falſely and foully called the ſources of diſcontent. Arms being wanted, as appeared from their plundering, an Act was judged neceſſary, to prevent the importation and transfer of arms and ammunition. And this Act was founded on a Report of a Secret Committee of the Houſe, ſtating, that a Conſpiracy did then exiſt in the Kingdom, the objects of which were to procure arms and ammunition, and officers of merit, to ſubvert the Monarchy, and effect a ſeparation of Ireland from Great Britain. That Committee, he could obſerve, had not been appointed at the inſtance of Government. It had been moved without the knowledge of Lord Weſtmoreland, and was ſolely the meaſure of the Noble Lord (Farnham) by whom it had been propoſed. This was the firſt proceeding which ſows the ground of complaint. The next was a Law to prevent the contraband trade of Ireland. The Iriſh Union finding the ſucceſs that had attended the meeting of a Catholic Convention in Dublin, propoſed to have another Convention at Athlone, and the plan to be acted upon was exactly that of the Primary Aſſembles of France. The Pariſhes, whoſe Electors met in a central part of the country,

country, choſe Repreſentatives: thus there was to be a prompt and general communication amongſt the whole body of the people, which left us to their mercy, and expoſed us to the danger of a partial or general inſurrection at any moment that they ſhall think proper. Parliament then did nothing more than declare the law. He was ready to prove, that Conventions of this ſort were ever illegal aſſemblies, and on that ground would meet any one who ſhould controvert the poſition. For three or four years following, the ſcenes which preſented themſelves muſt be freſh in recollection. Murder, robberies, midnight depredations, marked the progreſs of the Iriſh Union. Every loyal ſubject was in danger of being torn from his fire-ſide, or of having his houſe pillaged. Haggards were burned—the dwelling itſelf ſet on fire to force the inhabitants out, in order to be deſtroyed.—Then, in 96, the Inſurrection Act took place, by which, on the report of reſident Magiſtrates in their ſeſſions, that a county was in a diſturbed ſtate, or in danger of becoming ſo, the Lord Lieutenant was impowered to proclaim it, as out of the King's peace. If this had been immediately enforced, it might have prevented much miſchief, but it had not been for a conſiderable time carried into execution. Armagh was the firſt county in which it was allowed to operate; there a religious feud has ariſen, which he deplored as ſincerely as the Noble Lord poſſibly could. The ſhort hiſtory of that affair was this—from the æra of the Peep of Day Boys, a religious animoſity had ſubſiſted in that quarter, and he believed, that in the origin, the Proteſtants were the aggreſſors againſt the Catholics, who had been diſarmed. They were, however, hallooed back upon the Proteſtants, who took the name of Orangemen in diſtinction, and having the advantage on their ſide from ſuperior numbers, they uſed it with wantonneſs and cruelty. It had been ſtated by the Noble Lord, that no ſtep had been taken on this occaſion

ſion by Lord Camden or the Government of the Country. His Lordſhip here produced a letter of the Lord Lieutenant, directed to the Governor of the County, expreſſing his earneſt wiſh that he would exert himſelf with the Magiſtrates, without reſpect to parties, and put an end to the unhappy feud; and General Cradock was ſent down with a large military force, and his inſtructions were to the ſame effect, to uſe every exertion for the reſtoration of tranquillity, without reſpect to parties. For this the thanks of the Magiſtrates to His Excellency had been moved for by Sir Capel Molyneux, for his having ſelected ſo diſtinguiſhed an Officer, for the purpoſe of extinguiſhing the feud, and reſtoring the bleſſings of Peace. And yet it had been inſinuated by the Noble Lord, that it had been encouraged by Government, and approved of by the Britiſh Cabinet! he would tell the Noble Lord what had tended to defeat this interpoſition. An election was on the eve of taking place, and the Magiſtrates, inſtead of diſcharging their duty, took ſide with one or the other party, as it ſuited Election purpoſes: to ſuch a height had this miſchief ariſen, that he had it in contemplation to ſupercede the entire Commiſſion, and to form a new one, without the name of any one of the old Magiſtrates for that county, but found it impoſſible to get Perſons to act. This he pledged himſelf on the honour of a Gentleman, to the Noble Lord to be a fair ſtatement, without palliation on either ſide. But while the ſchiſm continued, the Iriſh Union propagated their peſtilential Aſſociation. He would now ſubmit to the Noble Lord, the plan of that Union, and would aſk him, whether it was poſſible for the ordinary meaſures of any regular government to detect and defeat their machinations? The primary, or lower Societies never exceeded thirty, and when that number was attained, their Societies ſplit; they then elect a Member from ten primary Societies, to form a Baronial Committee, five Baronial Committees

mittees then elected each a Delegate to a Committe for the County, each County Committee then elected a Member to a Provincial Committee out of its own body, and each provincial committee appointed a delegate to the executive, which latterly ſat in the Metropolis, with as much activity as the government of His Majeſty, and with more regularity in its communication and correſpondence, than his Lordſhip could have experienced in any army that he had ever under his command. The ſecretary of the executive correſponded with the ſecretary of the provincial—the ſecretaries of provincials with the baronial ſecretary—the ſecretaries the baronials with the primary ſecretaries, ſo as to convey their plans to the very loweſt of the conſpiracy in the ſhorteſt ſpace of time. This information was generally verbal, and when written, as ſoon as delivered, the writing was deſtroyed. Here then was an inviſible power, acting with promptneſs and regularity—here was a revolutionary government, exerciſing its authority to bring about a ſeparation from Great Britain, and the ſubverſion of the monarchy—a government which regularly correſponded with the French Directory as the Lord Lieutenant did with the miniſter for Iriſh affairs. The weapons of this government were deluſion and terror. The poor were told that they were to expect an Agrarian Law—an exemption from the payment of tythes, from the payment of taxes, from the payment of rent—and bound by oath to obey ſuch orders as they ſhould receive, even though they ſhould be for aſſaſſination, and that of their neareſt friend. If a witneſs dared to give evidence, his name was written in the book of death, and he was aſſaſſinated—if a Magiſtrate acted againſt them, his name was written in the book of death and he was aſſinated—if a juror found a traitor guilty, his name was written in the book of death, and he was threatened with the ſame fate. He had ſeen a hand-bill diſtributed among jurors, charging

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them as they had valued their lives to give no verdict againſt the Union. This holy brotherhood were joined in "Myſtic Union," as had been ſtated by Robinſon in his late publication—and the purpoſe was pretty clearly developed by themſelves.—In a late manifeſto they had aſked, "Is there any medium between the cloſeſt union with Great Britain and a total ſeparation, with ſafety to the liberties of the people?" and then the inference was made for a ſeparation, and a republic under the authority of France. While they hold this language, they proceed with their ſyſtem of terror, and prepare French weapons to perpetrate French barbarities—they forge pikes, and ſeize arms and conceal them—they attempt to regiment the conſpirators and to corrupt the army—public juſtice was inſulted, and a power ſet up which was paramount to law.

His Lordſhip here ſtated the deplorable ſtate of the country. Magiſtrates were obliged to convert their houſes into garriſons for ſafety. One gentleman (Mr. Hamilton), who had a garriſon in his houſe, happening to go out, and being obliged to paſs a lake, was overtaken by a ſtorm, and went to his friend Mr. Waller, who had been his fellow ſtudent at college. Thither he was followed by aſſaſſins, who gave the firſt notice of their approach by pouring a volley of muſquetry into the windors, by which Mrs. Waller was ſhot through the heart. They then threatened to ſet fire to the houſe, when the ſervants, from motives of ſelf preſervation, were obliged to diſcover Mr. Hamilton. He was immediately murdered, and his body afterwards mangled with the ferocity of cannibals. Theſe were the ſentimental minds, the injured innocents whom the noble lord would appeaſe by conciliation! Had his lordſhip heard of the aſſaſſination of Mr. Knipe, a Magiſtrate and a clergyman, with the circumſtances of barbarity with which it was attended? Had he heard of

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the aſſaſſination of Mr. Buller, another clergymen and a magiſtrate! Had he not read the long and black catalogue of aſſaſſinations, committed through the country in the night, by an infernal ſpirit of cruelty and depredation, which diſappears with the morning light? It was not until many repreſentations were made by gentlemen, that it was no longer ſafe to reſide on their eſtates—they were obliged to build up the windows of their lower apartments with brick—and that if government did not protect them, they would be obliged to join the inſurgents in their own defence, that the lord lieuteuant reſorted to meaſures of coercion. So general was the rage for blood and rapine, that no character was found to be a protection againſt it. No later than May laſt, Mr. Conolly, who ſpent his life and princely fortune in the kingdom—a gentleman ſo diſtinguiſhed for his generoſity and acts of munificence, detected a conſpiracy to betray him to the inſurgents, in his houſe at Carton, by his own ſervants, who had been admitted to the fraternity of Iriſh union.—Even the merits of that excellent and admirable woman (lady Louiſa) could not plead for her—ſhe who had been more like a parent than a miſtreſs to them—who furniſhed the hungry with food, the naked with clothes, the ignorant with education; ſhe too was to be butchered, and the houſe given up to the traitors. He could ſay that a gentleman was not thought to be ſafe when on a viſit there ſome time ſince, if ſuffered to ſleep in the lower apertments. He ſpoke of himſelf—for whom lady Louiſa Conolly had been alarmed—he ſaw a *cheveaux de frize* thrown up to defend the doors, and within the houſe there was as regular a guard as the noble lord had ever appointed. It was eaſy for him to form opinions in another kingdom, but what was the ſituation of gentlemen who were tied down to the ſoil? Were they to look on while ſuch ſcenes were going forward—when they were in peril—and when thoſe who had

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had no other property than their arms were robbed even of them, and thoſe arms applied to the purpoſes of murder? When ſuch was the ſtate of things, it became the bounden duty of lord Camden to diſarm the rebels. Would the noble lord ſay, that in that meaſure, there was any thing illegal? His lordſhip had acquitted the army for their conduct, and reſted his cenſure upon the government and the Britiſh cabinet. Were he in the ſituation of General Lake, he would not thank him for ſuch an acquittal. Did his lordſhip mean to ſay, that the lord lieutenant paſſed by General Lake in his orders, and held a private correſpondence with his ſubalters? Or that the general was a man who would execute orders as a ſoldier, which he ought to diſclaim as a man of honour and humanity?—But he would read a copy of the inſtructions ſent, to ſhew how unfounded the charge was againſt the Iriſh government and the Britiſh cabinet. Theſe inſtructions informed the general "that additional meaſures had become neceſſary for the public ſafety. That a conſpiracy had been diſcovered in the counties of Down, Antrim, Derry, and Donegal—that magiſtrates were fired at—that threatening letters had been diſtributed—that arms had been collected—that pikes had been manufactured—lead ſtolen for bullets, and attempts made to intimidate the yeomanry. It commands him, therefore, to diſarm all ſuch perſons as do not bear his Majeſty's commiſſion, or ſerve under gentlemen who do. It authoriſes him to diſperſe perſons tumultuouſly aſſembled, without waiting for a magiſtrate, and to ſtop perſons travelling by night." This was the inſtrument upon which the noble lord had founded his charge. He would now aſk him candidly, whether he thought government had acted wantonly? If they had introduced an Inquiſition, or revived the feudal tyranny of the curfew? General Lake had received orders to diſarm Rebels—and in ſo doing, he did no more than diſcharge a duty which was indiſpenſable to the ſafety of all loyal ſubjects.

The noble Lord had complained that his town of Ballinahinch had been miſrepreſented as one of the citadels of treaſon and rebellion—and had ſtated, that when he had convened the inhabitants, and had reaſoned with them on the bleſſings of the conſtitution, and the horrors of republicaniſm—on the virtues of His Majeſty and his illuſtrious ſon, he ſaw by their countenances they were loyal, and they proved it by uniting into a league to ſupport the conſtitution. Unfortunately for his Lordſhip, next to Belfaſt, the town of Ballinahinch was notorious for treaſon and conſpiracy.

From what his Lordſhip had obſerved in their countenances he inferred that they were ſincere in their profeſſions—let him go to the War Office, and he would find information to ſet him right; he would find that the privates of the Monaghan Militia, who had been tried by a Court-Martial and ſentenced to death, owed it to the town of Ballinahinch; he would find that the men who had been ſworn to the Union to corrupt the whole Regiment, were ſworn by one of his Lordſhip's own tenants. Was this loyalty to His Majeſty? If he were allowed to uſe a law term, he was afraid their loyalty was in abeyance to reward the virtues of the Heir Apparent. Were not his Lordſhip's own Groom and Gardener Members of the Conſpiracy? And did not the former give intelligence of pikes being made in his Lordſhip's yard, and concealed in his domain? And did not Mr. Hamilton, his Agent, acknowledge his belief of the fact? When General Lake demanded the arms of the town to be ſurrendered, did they not firſt refuſe, and when threatened, did they not give up a large quantity of arms, and among them a conſiderable number of pikes? Here was another inſtance of their loyalty to the virtues of the Heir Apparent. His Lordſhip had talked of an Informer who had given evidence againſt the treaſon of Ballinahinch, but his Lordſhip had been ſilent on his fate. This unhappy man, whom

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his Lordſhip had ſo groſly abuſed, was ſuſpected of having diſcovered the conſpiracy of his tenants, and having imprudently ventured from a place of ſecurity to his father-in-law's, the houſe was ſurrounded at night by horſemen, the door broke open, and the unfortunate man inhumanly butchered. Upon enquiry it appeared that ſeveral perſons had left Ballinahinch in a body on horſeback that very night. What was their lateſt exploit? From their love to the Army they made two of the centinels drunk, and then robbed them of 100 rounds of ammunition.—Such is the loyalty of Ballinahinch to the virtues of the Heir apparent. He very much feared that if his Lordſhip were to ſee things in their true light, and oppoſe their machinations as ſtudiouſly as he overlooks them, he might expect as much mercy from the town of Ballinahinch as Mr. Conolly has experienced from the town of Cellbridge. Another topic of complaint was the total deſtruction of a Printing Preſs at Belfaſt by the Military.—From his ſtatement, it would have been ſuppoſed, that a Britiſh Regiment had marched with colours flying and drums beating to demoliſh a Printing Preſs. The fact was, that after the ſeduction and execution of the Monaghan Militia Soldiers, the Regiment came to a reſolution of giving up any perſon that ſhould attempt to corrupt them. On bringing it to the Office, the Soldiers were told, that the Regiment were a ſet of ſcurvy fellows, and the Printers refuſed to publiſh their Reſolutions. Exaſperated at the inſult, and the death of their comrades, a party off duty (the General being out of town) repaired to the ſpot, and had proceeded to violence, when they were drawn off by Col. Leſlie; the demolition was, however, completed by the Yeomanry, and ſome ſtraggling Soldiers of their Regiment; this was repreſented as if a Proclamation had been iſſued by Government to direct ſo groſs a violation of military diſcipline and muncipal law, although the circumſtance was accidental,

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and ſuch as could not be avoided in the moſt peaceable times.

The next grievance ſtated by his Lordſhip, was the revival of the Curfew. This was founded upon two ſtories in diſturbed Diſtricts:—a Serjeant of a Regiment was patrolling, and ordered the light to be put out in a houſe—an excuſe was made that a child was ill, the Surgeon of the Regiment deſired the light to be kept in, and next day came to viſit and preſcribe for the child. The ſecond was alſo a caſe where a child was ill. The houſe was a known place for Seditious Meetings; the patrole ordered out the lights; a ſtory was propogated of the cruelty of ordering out lights where a child was ill, but the man of the houſe acknowledged it was his own fault, becauſe he might have eaſily procured leave to keep his lights in if he had applied for it. And the truth of this ſtatement is verified by Mr. George Crozier, his Lordſhip's Agent, who had been ſent by him into the North to collect grievances, and who had requeſted the man to come forward with his complaint, and when the man refuſed, threatened, that if he did not complian, he ſhould be forced to the Bar of the Houſe of Lords.

The next grievance was the torture of the Picket. It ſeems that an information had been given againſt a blackſmith, for making pikes. When taken, he denied that the allegation was true. He was therefore brought into an adjoining room by an Officer, who is ſince dead, who put a rope about his neck, and threatened to hang him (but never made an attempt to ſuſpend him from the ground), if he did not confeſs. He ſtill perſiſted in his innocence, when the officer put him on the picket. The conſequence was, that he confeſſed having made arms for particular perſons, and next day above one hundred of theſe murderous weapons had been ſeized. He did not wiſh, on the one hand, to juſtify their act—nor did he conceive that Government, on the

the other, ought to be accountable for any caſual exceſs of the military—but he would ſubmit whether the conſequences provided againſt, might not have been more terrible than the ſuffering of the traitor by the picket, ſince it was impoſſible to tell how many might have been put to death by the weapons of his manufacture. He knew their act was not to be juſtified by the municipal law—but was rebellion to be juſtified by municipal law, or could it be quelled by it?

There were certain caſes which juſtified ſeverity, and in which it became mercy. If a rebellion exiſted within the kingdom, he called upon the noble lord to declare candidly, whether he thought it could be quelled by the ordinary proceſs of the Conſtitution? His lordſhip knew what was neceſſary to be reſorted to in the caſe of rebellion; his lordſhip knew of an inſtance in the American war, when a rebel colonel who had taken the oath of allegiance, and under that maſk had endeavoured to debauch his troops, and to aſſaſſinate thoſe who would not join in his treaſon, had been hanged without any other ceremony than a Court of Inquiry, that one of the preſent Generals on the Staff had nearly fallen a ſacrifice in retaliation, and that the meaſure had been vindicated in the Houſe of Lords in England, by referrring to one hundred ſimilar inſtances. He did not adduce this caſe to accuſe the noble lord of cruelty; he believed it to be an act of juſtice and neceſſity: but if ſuch might be the melancholy exigency of an actual declared rebellion, was it not juſtifiable to prevent its recurrence by previouſly diſarming the rebels?

His lordſhip ſaid, that with reſpect to what had been obſerved relative to Newell and Smith, thoſe who offered four hundred pounds a piece to buy off their teſtimony, know beſt what they could prove. Newell was a miniature painter, and had been engaged in a loyal family; but ſtaying too long he became ſuſpected, and his name was written in the book of death. The conſpirators came, and actually made an attempt to aſſaſſi-

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nate him but having eſcaped, he thought proper to diſcloſe what he knew. Certainly the Papers which were ſeized could not belie the band of Traitors who were ſeized ſitting in committee, with other circumſtances, which proved the exiſtence of as dark and dangerous a Rebellion as ever threatened the ſafety of any kingdom, or the exiſtence of any government, placed his credibilty beyond doubt, as to what he had diſcloſed. But the noble lord, ſecure in another kingdom, conceives that we are all ſafe—that the Lords and Commons know nothing of the ſituation of the country, becauſe they do not wait until their throats are cut by the rebels, without making any preparations for defence. He talks of giving them Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform. Does he know the Executive Directory with whom his Majeſty's Government could treat? In any negociation they would probably imitate the French, and tell him firſt to lay down his arms, and repeal the Act of Supremacy—and they would inform him what they were to conſider further as the price of peace. Perhaps, however, he did not know there was ſuch an Executive Directory in Dublin. Perhaps he did not know that they iſſued their orders as regularly as the Commander in Chief, and were as promptly obeyed. On a recent occaſion they brought out 15,000 men on the Sabbath, on pretence of attending a funeral, but really for the purpoſe of intimidation—to ſhew their ſtrength, and perſuade the loyal citizens that there was no ſafety unleſs in joining them. After all this array, the detection of artillery, ammunition, ſmall arms, and pikes, would the noble lord gravely ſay, that we could defend ourſelves by conciliation? Were howitzers and pikes ſuch innocent playthings that they ſhould be left in the hands of ſome thouſands of men? Would the noble lord gravely aſſure that Aſſembly that they had cannon concealed for the purpoſe of ſhooting ſnipes? He well recollected that when orders had been

iſſued for diſarming the rebels, uncommon pains had been taken to encourage the notion of an intended change in the adminiſtration, which added to the turbulence, and created much miſchief in the North. A prepoſterous Meeting had been propoſed by ſome Magiſtrates in the county of Down, and a Proteſtant Biſhop*, of all the inhabitants to petition the King to diſmiſs his Miniſters, although many of them had ſigned the petition to the Lord Lieutenant for proclaiming that rebellious and inflamed Diſtrict. The Sheriff very properly refuſed to countenance ſo illegal an act, and then the prelate carried the addreſs about, as he was informed, in his own hands for ſignatures. In that Addreſs his Majeſty was told by one of his Biſhops that the trade of the country was ruined by the war. It was extraordinary how a falſehood ſo eaſy of detection could be laid at the foot of the Throne. The average value of the exports of linen for four years preceding the war was 9,458,211l. 10s The average value of the five years ſucceeding was 11,664,115l. ſo that the trade of the country does not appear to have been ruined by the war, but to have encreaſed to the value of 2,200,000l. and more. In 1796 the export of linen was to the value of 3,113,687l. the greateſt that had ever taken place in one year ſince the eſtabliſhment of a linen manufacture. If there had been a decreaſe in 1797, as there had been of ten millions of yards, it was not to be aſcribed to the war; it was becauſe the people ceaſed to be weavers and turned politicians—it was becauſe they had thrown away the ſhuttle for the pike—becauſe they had given up the ſober and induſtrious habits for which they were remarkable, and had degenerated into midnight ruffians and aſſaſſins—and further, becauſe they had laboured to deſtroy the induſtry, religion and morality of all other orders of the people. The trade of Belfaſt had decreaſed only by ſeven thouſand pounds in the year, notwithſtanding the aggrava-

* The Bishop of Down: This man was made a Biſhop in the Adminiſtrati n of Lord Northington, at the particular recommendation of Charles Fox.

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tion of the preſſure of the war by domeſtic treaſon—and if the average of the kingdom was taken, it would be conſiderably lower, 600,000l. being the decreaſe of the whole kingdom, while there had been a great increaſe in imports, and the tonnage of ſhipping had increaſed 17,872 tons, and this under a Government that was called corrupt and oppreſſive; and it ſo happened, that while his Majeſty was told by one of his Biſhops that the trade of Ireland had been ruined by the war, the fact was, that no part of Europe benefited by the war but Ireland.

If any thing were wanting to flaſh conviction on the mind of the noble lord, let him look to the ſouth and mid-land diſtricts. The people were peaceable and induſtrious—the farmers were growing rich, and the peaſantry (which he had hardly expected to ſee in his day), were growing comfortable. It was really heart-breaking to ſee our progreſs to proſperity arreſted by the machinations of peſtilential conſpirators. The French Directory had been perſuaded that the people would receive them with open arms—but when the attempt at invaſion was made, a burſt of loyalty overrun theſe diſtricts. It was a proud ſight to ſee the cottager dividing his dinner with the ſoldier, on his march to meet the enemy. Mr. Tone, on his return to Paris, had to account for the diſappointment which the French experienced. It is to be ſuppoſed that he promiſed to be better prepared when the next attempt might be made, and emiſſaries were ſent from the North, and from Dublin, for the expreſs purpoſe of corrupting the ſouthern and midland counties. Whatever the noble lord might aſſert of the North, how could he trace the diſcontents of the South to catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform? he might as well read to them the quotation from Cicero, with which he had favoured the houſe that night, as talk to them of either. The diſturbances in that quarter were ſolely and immediately to

he aſcribed to the working of the Iriſh Union. Had the noble lord heard of the detection of a conſpiracy at Athlone?—that it was propoſed to deliver up the garriſon and ſtores to the perſons appointed by the Executive Government of United Iriſhmen, or to blow it up rather than retain it for our Majeſty's ſervice. Kildare was nearly in as bad a ſtate, owing to a petition ſimilar to that of Down. He underſtood that the induſtry of the county had been diſturbed by the importunity of the canvas for ſignatures.—The beggar who took his ſtand in the hollow near Naas, and who muſt have been ſo often noticed by their lordſhips, was one of the ſubſcribers.—A noble Peer had waſted a whole day in endeavouring to prevail on a blackſmith, his journeyman and apprentice to ſign. That diſorders ſhould take place amongſt the lower orders was not ſurpriſing, when they thus ſaw gentlemen and men of property ſplit themſelves, for the factious putting one man from the cabinet, and putting another in his place.

He would read to the Noble Lord, a late order iſſued by this Executive Directory. It was printed and circulated, bearidg date the 1ſt of February 1798. This order ſtated officially to the traitors that "Their numbers had increaſed ſo conſiderably, that they truly deſerved to be called the People of Ireland: but that their organization muſt keep pace with their numbers, &c. It mentions the French as being ready to come to their aſſiſtance. It exhorts them to perſevere. This was no time for them to fall back, when France was making ſuch vaſt preparations, and the Government of England was on the verge of bankruptcy and ruin. It deſires them to go on to unite and organize, and that they might rely upon it they wouln ſoon be free. It demands a contribution of 3d. per week, to be applien to a national purpoſe—recommends to them to obſerve more caution not to aſſemble in numbers—not to wear any particular dreſs—but to preſerve patience and

order,

order, and they muſt ſucceed." A noble Lord near him had mentioned that a copy of the order of the Iriſh Directory which he held in his had, had been found in the ſtreets of Athy, a ſhort time ſince.

Before he ſat down he ſhould notice another weapon of the conſpiracy, which was a calumniation of the adminiſtration of juſtice. He ſingled out the caſe of Orr as having been ſtated to be the moſt corrupt and tyrannical. He would ſtate what the fact was. Orr was indicted for having endeavoured to ſeduce two ſoldiers of a Scotch fencible regiment; their names were Wheatley and Lindſay. The names of theſe men had been found in a liſt of United Iriſhmen, and they were ſeized by their officers. On examination they confeſſed, and on the trial it diſtinctly appeared that Orr had acted as ſecretary when they had been ſworn, and adminiſtered the eath. An attempt was made to diſcredit the evidence of one, of which no uſe was made, becau'e he appeared to be intoxicated in court. The other's teſtimony was never invalidated to this hour, and on it Orr was found guilty. He mentioned the names of perſons preſent who could eaſtly have been procured to contradict him, but they were never called upon. A deluſive account had been publiſhed, evidently by one of the counſel retained by Orr. After the verdict, a barriſter, wearing his Majeſty's gown, came into court, ſtating that the jury, while out, had got drunk. When aſked why he produced this affidavit; he anſwered, to move for an attachment againſt the jury who had drank, a thing which could not be granted —but the real motion was to ſlander the adminiſtration of juſtice. The jury recommended the criminal to mercy. The judge laid the recommendation before the Lord Lieutenant, who inquired of the judges whether he could concur in ſuch recommendation. He anſwered foully that he could not. An attempt was then made by affidavit before a preſbyterian elder, to ſhew

that

that the witneſs had made a confeſſion of compunction for his ſins in a deranged ſtate, it would ſeem, for that among other ſins he had committed perjury. If ſuch meaſures could defeat the law, it would be of little value indeed. Courts and juries would be of no uſe—no criminal would ever ſuffer. If he failed in the old mode of trial by jury, he was ſure to ſucceed in the ſecond trial by appeal On ſuch ground did a worthy gentleman and member of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons give as a toaſt at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in London—" The memory of Mr. Orr, who was baſely murdered in Ireland"—on ſuch ground did another worthy gentleman give, " May the lord lieutenant and his Iriſh cabinet be ſoon in the place of Mr. Orr." The object of all this calumniation was very palpable. It was to brand the adminiſtration of juſtice—and in the event to render it utterly impracticable.

He would notice another libel. It was ſaid to be the ſpeech of a barriſter on the conviction of a libeller of the name of Finnerty. He muſt ſuppoſe the publication was a falſhood—for if not, he had no heſitation in ſaying that the lawyer deſerved the pillory infinitely more than the man he affected to defend, with a view to make a ſpeech in vilification of the adminiſtration of juſtice.—He told the jury that they were packed, and the judge, that juſtice was not to be expected—which by the degradation of the adminiſtration of juſtice, furniſhed another engine for effecting revolution.

As to Catholic emancipation, upon which ſuch ſtreſs had been laid, he would be glad to know in what it conſiſted? except a ſmall qualification to carry arms, the Teſt Laws and Acts of Supremacy, the body of the catholics he thought ſtood exactly in the ſame ſituation as the proteſtants. If the noble Lord really deſired that emancipation, the means were obvious. Let him move for a repeal of the Teſt laws, and the act of ſupremacy

premacy in the Britiſh Parliament. He was aware that he would be guilty of an act of high treaſon. It would be to condemn the revolution, and impeach the title of the houſe of Hanover to the throne. Whoever would take the trouble to read the hiſtory of James the Second, in Rapin, there would find, that for the ſubverſion of the religion of England, the language bore a cloſe reſemblance to that of the Iriſh Union. James would introduce the catholics only to form a brotherhood of affection, and to unite them all in defence of the conſtitution; but, had he been ſuffered to do ſo, the people of England would now have no liberty to contend for, and the Houſe of Hanover would not ſit on the throne. He could not ſee the utility of telling the people from high authority, that they ought to be ſubmitted to by the legiſlature and government; and he might be allowed to ſpeak with ſome feeling on the ſubject, becauſe he had been within a hair's breadth of becoming a martyr to the doctrine immediately after it had been broached. The truth was, that it was as a ſtratagem now reſorted to by a party, when all their other artifices had failed. In 82, they pledged their lives and fortunes to ſupport the conſtitution as eſtabliſhed in England at the revolution of 1688—their Place Bill, their Penſion Bill, the Reſponſibility Bill, remained as improvements of it. They were all granted, and of courſe fail them as pretences; and now they diſcover that conſtitution, which they pledged their lives and fortunes to ſupport, was a ſyſtem of ſlavery, and preach up coercion and extinction.

He requeſted the noble lord to ſtate his whole plan of reformation. He could not conceive how the Proteſtant religion could be ſupported by a Popiſh ſtate. A good deal had been ſaid about the conſtitution. He knew no word that was more generally uſed or perverted. He conceived a leading principle of the conſtitution

ſtitution to be to provide ſecurity for the liberty and property of the people. He conceived a principle of the conſtitution to be to have always a cloſe connexion of church and ſtate, and he was ſure, that without it, ruinous conſequences would enſue—conſequences which muſt ſhake the fabric of the conſtitution to its center. The altar was known to be a pillar of the throne, and therefore in France, they took care, at the commencement, to pull it down. Another principle of the conſtitution was, that before perſons were admitted to offices of great truſt under it, they ſhould firſt give a pledge of their allegiance and attachment. Theſe were neceſſary, leſt the crown ſhould appoint miniſters who might betray the conſtitution. To admit the Catholics without that precaution, would be to lay the foundation of a new revolution. He admitted, that there were many of as good members in that as in any other religion, but he was unalterably of opinion, that they could not be inveſted with power in a Proteſtant ſtate without a ſtrong temptation to ſubvert it. He adverted to a late paſtoral letter, publiſhed by the titular biſhop of Waterford, which aſſerted, all the old Popiſh doctrines in their full extent, and which the more moderate of his connexion wiſely condemn. Another work had been publiſhed, which contained the ſame doctrines, but more diſguiſed and meliorated. But while the act of ſupremacy continued, which annexes the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction of Ireland to the imperial crown of England, how is the difficulty to be got over? Would any miniſter adviſe his Majeſty to aſſent to an act for the purpoſe, without an act of the Britiſh Parliament? And if ſuch an act did paſs the Britiſh Parliament, could His Majeſty give his aſſent to it? Theſe were queſtions of great moment, and were not to be decided by pikes, cannon, or murder. If his lordſhip was determined to try conciliation with them, he ſhould firſt tell them to recall their plenipotentiary from Paris, to

ſurrender

ſurrender their arms, and return to induſtry. Then would be the ſeaſon for conciliation. But while they continued with arms in their hands, in a poſture of rebellion, let him aſſure them, that the legiſlature and government will prefer a ſtate of anxious vigilance and adequate preparation, to a falſe and unfounded ſecurity. Their plenipotentiary at Paris, if not known to his lordſhip, he could name for him; he began his education amongſt Jeſuits, and finiſhed it in an Attorney's office. He could name the ambaſſadors at Liſle, and probably ſome of them were not unknown to the Noble Lord in the North. Theſe circumſtances conſidered, conciliation would be folly.—What would his lordſhip's remedy be if we threw away our arms, and conciliation ſhould fail?—Would he anſwer, that Authur O'Connor, in the newſpaper, would not three times a week iſſue doſes of poiſon to corrupt and inflame the public mind? He concluded with a warm appeal to the noble lord, as he valued the conſtitution, and all the bleſſings of civil ſociety, to riſe above the paltry conſideration of party, and to let this great truth make a deep impreſſion on his mind, that nothing could ſatisfy the clamorous and rebellious ſhort of abſolute democracy.

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